

Message Text

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TO USICA WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9802

NSC WASHDC

JCS WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 TOKYO 13254

USICA

STATE PASS ARMS CONTROL DISARMAMENT AGENCY FOR HALSTED

STATE FOR PM/PALMER, NSC FOR PUTNAM, JCS FOR ISA/THOMPSON
& VAN ALLEN

E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: DISARMAMENT--JAPANESE INTERESTS AND CONCERNS

REF: (A) USICA 15297, (B) USICA 17060

1. CONCERNED PUBLICS:

A. GENERAL ENVIRONMENT: PRIOR TO RECENTLY CONCLUDED
UNSSOD, WIDESPREAD CAMPAIGN WAS CONDUCTED BY NON-
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGO) TO GET SIGNATURES ON
APPEAL FOR GENERAL DISARMAMENT. RESULT WAS TWENTY MILLION
SIGNATURES IN MASSIVE REGISTERS PRESENTED TO UN BY 500-
MEMBER NGO DELEGATION FROM JAPAN DURING UNSSOD. THIS
PROVIDES SOME INDICATION OF WIDE JAPANESE CONSENSUS FOR
WORLD ORDER WHERE HUGE OFFENSIVE ARSENALS WOULD BE THING
OF PAST. JAPAN'S SELF DEFENSE FORCES (SDF) LACK WEAPONS
SYSTEMS ENABLING THEM TO CONDUCT SUSTAINED OFFENSIVE
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AGAINST ANOTHER NATION; AND THEIR MAIN ACTIVITY SINCE
FOUNDING IN EARLY 1950'S HAS BEEN DISASTER RELIEF. THIS
SITUATION IS VERY WIDELY ACCEPTED BY STILL WAR-SHY PUBLIC
AND TENDS TO BE VIEWED AS IDEAL STANDARD. JAPAN HAS BEEN
CONTENT TO KEEP LOW POLITICAL POSTURE AMONG INDUSTRIAL
DMOCRACIES WHILE PROMOTING POLITICALLY NEUTRAL BUT
ECONOMICALLY EXPANSIVE "OMNIDIRECTIONAL DIPLOMACY."

NATION'S ESCHEWAL OF ANY RISK OF WAR INVOLVEMENT AND CONSENSUS FOR UNSTRUCTURED PACIFISM MAKES MOST OF PUBLIC FAVOR SWEEPING DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. THIS STANCE IN TURN REFLECTS UNDERLYING SOCIAL VALUES FAVORING HARMONY, NONAGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR AND AVOIDANCE OF INTERPERSONAL OR INTERGROUP CONFRONTATION.

B. GOJ AND CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL GROUPS HAVE GONE ALONG WITH U.S. SECURITY POLICIES AS SUPPORTIVE OF JAPAN'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN CONTEXT OF INSTABILITY ON KOREAN PENINSULA AND NEARNESS OF WORLD'S TWO LARGEST COMMUNIST POWERS. THROUGHOUT POSTWAR PERIOD THIS PERMITTED POLITICAL LEFTWING TO COOPT PEACE AND DISARMAMENT CAUSES; BUT WITH END OF COLD WAR AND VIETNAM HOT WAR AND WITH PEKING'S SUPPORT FOR STRONG JAPANESE DEFENSE POSTURE IDEOLOGICAL COLORING HAS RAPIDLY DISAPPEARED FROM POPULAR MOVEMENTS FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT. INDICATION OF THIS WAS GOJ'S CLOSE, DIRECT SUPPORT OF LARGE NGO DELEGATION TO UNSSOD.

C. SOME 60-100 INDIVIDUALS IN MEDIA (ABOUT HALF OF TOTAL), ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS AND IN GOJ FOLLOW DISARMAMENT AND/OR ARMS CONTROL ISSUES PROFESSIONALLY OR AS ACADEMIC PURSUIT. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, NONE RANK AS EXPERTS; BUT MOST ARE DEDICATED ADVOCATES. EVEN SOME INDIVIDUALS DESCRIBED AS DEFENSE ANALYSTS OR MILITARY AFFAIRS CRITICS FAVOR DISARMAMENT RATHER THAN BUILDING UP UNCLASSIFIED

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JAPAN'S MILITARY MIGHT.

D. MAJOR ORGANIZATION COMING INTO EXISTENCE THIS FALL, INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY (TENTATIVE NAME), WILL MODEL ITSELF AFTER UK'S IISS. DR. MASAMICHI INOKI, CURRENT SUPERINTENDENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ACADEMY, WILL BE FIRST DIRECTOR. MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HEAVILY SUBSIDIZES JAPAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WHICH DOES SOME RESEARCH ON DISARMAMENT. MOST PRESTIGIOUS DAILY IN JAPAN, "ASAHI SHIMBUN" HAS RESEARCH OFFICE THAT HELPS SUPPORT PAPER'S ADVOCACY OF DISARMAMENT AND OTHER MEASURES FOR ADVANCING PEACE. FINALLY, "JAPAN PEACE RESEARCH GROUP" FORMED IN 1966 AND HEADED BY TOKYO UNIV. PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS YOSHIKAZU SAKAMOTO SERVES TO COORDINATE PEACE AND DISARMAMENT STUDIES OF 45 OF JAPAN'S LEADING SCHOLARS IN THE SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES. IT HAS NO PHYSICAL PLANT OF ITS OWN BUT OPERATES OUT OF PROF. SAKAMOTO'S OFFICE.

2. MAIN ISSUES OF CONCERN:

JAPANESE GENERALLY HAVE LITTLE PATIENCE WITH SLOW, STAGED

DISARMAMENT AND TEND TO BE IRRITATED BY ARMS CONTROL IN SMALL INCREMENTS. THEY WANT TO SEE A TOTAL NUCLEAR ARMS BAN WITHIN FORESEEABLE FUTURE. AS WAY STATIONS TO THIS, A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB) NOW, AGREEMENT ON NON FIRST USE, INSTITUTION OF NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES AND A STEADY SUCCESSION OF SALT AGREEMENTS WOULD MAKE SENSE TO THEM. JULY 15, 1978, "YOMIURI" EDITORIAL FLATLY ASSERTED: "IN NUCLEAR AGE, THERE CAN BE NO OPTIONS OTHER THAN ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT STARTING WITH SALT." CONSERVATIVE POSITION WAS VOICED BY "JAPAN TIMES" EDITOR KIYOAKI MURATA,

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NSC WASHDC

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USICA

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STATE FOR PM/PALMER, NSC FOR PUTNAM, JCS FOR ISA/THOMPSON
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WHO ARGUED THAT CONVENTIONAL ARMS ARE ESSENTIAL "BECAUSE SOVEREIGN STATES ARE HERE TO STAY," BUT THAT TOTAL DISARMAMENT COULD BE MADE ULTIMATELY FEASIBLE IF DIFFERENCES IN NATIONAL INTERESTS WERE MINIMIZED BY REDUCING GAPS IN LIVING STANDARDS AND OTHER VALUES. (JT EDIT 7/7/78)
THE MORE LIBERAL POSITION WAS PRESENTED IN THE 7/6/78 "ASAHI EVENING NEWS" BY "ASAHI" CHIEF EDITORIAL WRITER JUNNOSUKE KISHIDA, WHO ADVOCATED JAPAN'S CREATION OF THINK TANKS TO DO DISARMAMENT STUDIES, A PERMANENT GOJ AGENCY FOR RESEARCH AND STUDY IN DISARMAMENT, AND REUNIFICATION OF JAPAN'S DIVIDED BAN-THE BOMB MOVEMENT.

3. INTEREST IN SPECIFIC TOPICS:

INTEREST IN REFTEL'S SPECIFIC TOPICS IN MANY CASES DIFFERS
BETWEEN SPECIALISTS AND GENERAL PUBLIC. RATHER THAN GLOSS
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OVER THESE, WE SHOW DIFFERENCES AS WE PERCEIVE THEM.

- SPECIALISTS GEN. PUBLIC

A. SALT II AND III HIGH LOW
B. CTB TREATY VERY HIGH VERY HIGH
C. THEATER NUCLEAR OR VERY HIGH VERY HIGH
- "GREY AREA" ISSUES
D. RADIOLOGICAL AND VERY HIGH VERY HIGH
- CHEMICAL WEAPONS
E. ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS HIGH INSUF.
- INFO.
F. REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL VERY HIGH MEDIUM
- ARRANGEMENTS
G. CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS VERY HIGH HIGH
H. NONPROLIF. & PEACEFUL MEDIUM MEDIUM
- N-COOPERATION
I. INT'L DISARMAMENT MACHINERY VERY HIGH MEDIUM
J. DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT HIGH LOW
- LINKAGE
K. NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE ZONES VERY HIGH MEDIUM
L. ENHANCED-RADIATION WEAPONS HIGH HIGH

4. CONCERNED PUBLIC'S STAND ON KEY ISSUES:

A. U.S. CONCERNED WITH AGREE WITH DISAGREE
- MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL RESERVATION W/RES.

- U.S. CONCERNED W/MEANINGFUL DISAGREE STRONGLY
- DISARMAMENT W/RES. DISAGREE

B. USSR CONCERNED W/MEANINGFUL DISAGREE STRONGLY
- ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT W/RES. DISAGREE
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C. U.S. HAS MORE ARMS THAN STRONGLY STRONGLY
- NEEDED AGREE AGREE
D. USSR HAS MORE ARMS THAN STRONGLY STRONGLY
- NEEDED AGREE AGREE
E. JAPAN HAS MORE ARMS THAN STRONGLY STRONGLY

- NEEDED DISAGREE DISAGREE
F. U.S. MILITARILY SUPERIOR AGREE WITH AGREE
- TO USSR RESERVATIONS W/RES.
G. USSR MILITARILY SUPERIOR OPINION OPINION
- TO U.S. DIVIDED DIVIDED
H. U.S. MAY SACRIFICE ALLIES' STRONGLY STRONGLY
- INTERESTS FOR SALT AGREEMENT DISAGREE DISAGREE
I. SALT II COMPLETION IMPORTANT STRONGLY STRONGLY
- TO ALL AGREE AGREE
J. CTB COMPLETION IMPORTANT TO STRONGLY STRONGLY
- ALL AGREE AGREE
K. NEUTRON WARHEAD SHOULD BE STRONGLY STRONGLY
- BANNED AGREE AGREE
L. U.S. CONVENTIONAL ARMS DISAGREE DISAGREE
- TRANSFER POLICIES WELL WITH WITH
- INTENTIONED/CONSTRUCTIVE RESERVATIONS RES.
M. U.S. NONPROLIFERATION DISAGREE DISAGREE
- POLICIES WELL INTENTIONED W/RES. W/RES.
- AND CONSTRUCTIVE
N. REGIONAL AGREEMENTS LIMITING DISAGREE INSUF.
- CONVENTIONAL ARMS IFRS ARE W/RES. INFO.
- IMPRACTICAL
O. JAPAN SHOULD SHOW MORE
- RESTRAINT IN ARMS SALES OR
- PURCHASES

JAPAN HAS TIGHT LIMITS AGAINST ANY ARMS SALES
ABROAD, AND PURCHASES ARMS MAINLY BY LICENSING
ARRANGEMENTS, SO THAT STATEMENT IS IRRELEVANT
TO JAPAN.

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INFO OCT-01 PM-05 ACDA-12 SS-15 SP-02 CIAE-00 INR-10
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JCS WASHDC

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USICA

STATE PASS ARMS CONTROL DISARMAMENT AGENCY FOR HALSTED

STATE FOR PM/PALMER, NSC FOR PUTNAM, JCS FOR ISA/THOMPSON
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P. ARMS SUPPLIERS SHOULD BAR STRONGLY STRONGLY
- SALES TO NATIONS SERIOUSLY AGREE AGREE
- VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS
Q. U.S. APPROACH TO MBFR IS INSUF. INSUF.
- CONSTRUCTIVE INFO. INFO.
R. USSR APPROACH TO MBFR IS INSUF. INSUF.
- CONSTRUCTIVE INFO. INFO.
S. U.S. SHOULD SEEK ARMS STRONGLY STRONGLY
- LIMITATION PACT WITH USSR AGREE AGREE
- FOR INDIAN OCEAN
T. NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES HELP STRONGLY STRONGLY
- WORLD PEACE AGREE AGREE
U. U.S. NONPROLIFERATION POLICY OPINION INSUF.
- DERIVES FROM DESIRE TO DIVIDED INFO.
- DOMINATE NUCLEAR FUEL MARKET
V. JAPAN SHOULD SHOW MORE STRONGLY STRONGLY
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- CAUTION ON DEVELOPING N-FUEL DISAGREE DISAGREE
- REPROCESSING FACILITIES
W. JAPAN SHOULD BE MORE ACTIVE AGREE STRONGLY
- IN INT'L ARMS CONTROL/DIS- W/RES. AGREE
- ARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS
X. NOT ALL REGIONAL ARMS STRONGLY STRONGLY
- CONTROL OPPORTUNITIES IN AGREE AGREE
- JAPAN AREA BEING EXPLOITED
Y. CURRENT DISARMAMENT AGREE STRONGLY
- MACHINERY NEEDS FIXING W/RES. AGREE

5. OPINION SURVEYS HAVE NOT BEEN CONDUCTED ON DISARMAMENT
OR ARMS CONTROL IN RECENT YEARS. THIS APPARENTLY IS RESULT
OF LOGIC WE HEARD WHEN WE ASKED RECENTLY WHY NO SURVEYS
HAVE RECENTLY ASKED ABOUT PRESENCE OF U.S. BASES IN JAPAN:
"MATTER IS NOT VIEWED AS CONTROVERSIAL BY PUBLIC; HENCE WE

CAN EASILY PREDICT WHAT SURVEY WOULD FIND." IN CASE OF DISARMAMENT/ARMS CONTROL, PUBLIC IS OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR; AND AGAIN SURVEY RESULTS WITH SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION ARE QUITE PREDICTABLE.

6. FIRST DRAFT TO THIS MESSAGE PREPARED BY ICA POLICY OFFICER AND SENIOR JAPANESE STAFF WHO HAVE CLOSELY FOLLOWED JAPANESE OPINION IN THIS FIELD FOR SOME TWO DECADES AND WHO HAV BEEN MONITORING VIEWS AIRED IN CONNECTION WITH UNSSOD OVER PAST FEW MONTHS. DRAFT THEN DISCUSSED WITH OTHER MISSION ELEMENTS FOR COMMENT. INFORMATION MAY BE 90 PERCENT RELIABLE, GIVEN LACK OF RECENT SURVEYS WITH GENERAL PUBLIC OR ELITES.

7. PREVIOUSLY REPORTED SERIES OBAPROJECTS ON SALT AND DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING NACHT PACKAGE PROGRAM, OTHER RELEVQKT SPEAKERS AND SPECIALLY PREPARED DISARMAMENT UNCLASSIFIED

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PACKET FOCSKEY SPECIALISTS, PROVED HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL AND WELL DOVETAILED WITH SPECIALISTS' INTERESTS. INFOGUIDE JUST RECEIVED BEING ISSUED AS INTERNAL DOCUMENT FOR ICA AND OTHER MISSION OFFICERS. WIRELESS FILE OCCASIONALLY HAS VALUABLE ITEMS ON DISARMAMENT. WE WILL BE REQUESTING MORE ACDA MATERIALS FOR ONGOING SERVICING OF DISARMAMENT PACKET RECIPIENTS. MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH IN FUTURE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THOSE KEY JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS CONCERNED WITH PROJECT DEVELOPMENT ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES OVER LONGER PERIOD INCLUDING AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS FOR GREATER IN-DEPTH DISCUSSIONS WITH POLICY FORMULATORS & THOSE INFLUENCING OPINION ON THESE ISSUES. POST NOW IN CONTACT WITH ORGANIZERS OF NEW INSTITUTE PATTERNED AFTER LONDON'S IISS MENTIONED ABOVE UNDER SECTION 1.D TO DETERMINE POTENTIAL FOR CLOSE COOPERATION ON SEMINAR DEVELOPMENT WITH SELECTED U.S. SPECIALISTS IN DISARMAMENT FIELD. FORSTER

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